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Is the public ownership
and democratic
operation of all utilities,
services and
enterprises that are
public in their nature.

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

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American Appeal

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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CHICAGO, OCTOBER 22, 1927.

National Convention to Be Held in New York

Date Changed to April 14—
Berger Elected National
Party Chairman

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in Detroit Saturday and Sunday, October 15 and 16, heard a report from the National Secretary, giving a detailed account of receipts and expenses of the Party and the American Appeal for the nine months of the present year and then went into the question of Convention and Party work.

After a general survey of a date and place for the convention, a decision was finally reached that the convention should be held in New York City beginning April 14. Members of the Committee from New York City extended an invitation for the convention to be held in New York City and their offer was accepted. The committee feels confident that the 1928 Convention of the Socialist Party will be one of the best and largest conventions in the history of the Party. Delegates are expected from all parts of the United States.

Berger National Chairman

Comrade Victor L. Berger was elected National Chairman of the Socialist Party to succeed Eugene V. Debs. The selection of Berger was made by the National Executive Committee at its meeting in Detroit on Oct. 15th.

Harriet Stanton Blatch, of New York City, elected as the representative of the Socialist Party of the United States on the International Socialist Women's Committee. This committee of women is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International with Headquarters at Zurich.

Enthusiasm on the Rise

Tentative plans looking toward strengthening the party organization and the planning of the campaign were discussed thoroughly, and a general plan will be worked out and put to operation at a later meeting of the committee. Reports show that there is a general development of enthusiasm and activity in most parts of the country and predictions were freely made that our vote in 1928 will be far greater than at any time in the history of the Party.

Comrade Hillquit having just arrived from Europe gave the Committee an excellent report of the recent meeting which he attended at Brussels with the International Socialist Conference. His report showed that our movement throughout Europe is not only a most powerful one at the present time, but that a continued growth of the movement is expected to swing the Socialists in control of a number of governments in the near future.

Fine Banquet Held

On Saturday night, the comrades of Detroit staged a fine banquet to the National Executive Committee, and a general good time was had with much speech making, ended at 1:00 A. M. Su. lay morning. Speakers at the banquet consisted of Hillquit, Berger, Van Esen, Bernstein, Oncale and Sharts. National Secretary Henry acted as Toastmaster. High class music was furnished by Mr. and Mrs. Israel Katz. The excellent musical feature was thoroughly enjoyed by all.

Contributions were called for by the Toastmaster and met a ready response. Comrade Hillquit headed the list with \$50.00, seconded by Berger, with \$30.00. There were a number of \$25.00 contributions from J. Bernstein, J. Wester, A. Binkoff, and Van Esen. M. Goldsmith and Philo Dubin contributed \$20.00 each, and then there were \$10.00 contributions from Roth, Sharts, Shrodeek, Kreighoff, Wanikow and Weiner. \$5.00 contributions were received from Mrs. Wexler, Fink, Eizdeekow, Wagman, Gulyar, Heuleman, Rubin, Etkin, Smith, L. Bernstein, Dr. Kleiman, Weinberg, Goebel, Pecherer, Ladies Auxiliary and Rosenbaum. \$3.00 contribution (Cont. on Page 2)

WILL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEVER WAKE UP?

Private interests with aggregate property worth more than seventeen billion dollars have declared war against public ownership, and have launched the greatest propaganda campaign against the rights of the common people in the history of this country.

This country is to witness a poisoning of the public mind against the fundamental concepts of democracy comparable to the poisoning of the popular mind during the World War.

Simultaneously with this "educational" drive of the trusts, the great power monopoly of this country is preparing for its major drive on congress to prevent the inauguration of public ownership projects already contemplated. At a recent conference of railroad magnates it developed that the thing feared and opposed most was public ownership. The Unity interests met in national convention during the week and betrayed the fact that they are preparing to fight most of all is public ownership.

Reorganized and heavily financed, the power trust lobby is coming back to Washington to prepare for the most titanic struggle ever waged over possession of key resources in the United States—the Muscle Shoals power plant and the Boulder Canyon site.

Josiah T. Newcomb, field marshal of the power monopoly forces, who became conspicuous last winter when he told a House committee that he represented "seven billions of investment," in public utilities, and would not permit the Boulder Canyon dam measure to pass so long as it provided for public ownership, has for 15 years been a lobbyist for public utility corporations.

At its annual convention at Atlantic City last June, the National Electric Light Association applauded and endorsed a report from its committee on water power development in which the principle of public ownership was repudiated in the Muske-Shoals bill for Boulder Dam, and certain plans for the St. Lawrence waterway development was attacked.

From a southern senator who has stood consistently for the Norris bill, requiring government operation at Muscle Shoals and government sale of the electric current to consumers, has come a report that the power companies are making headway in their plan to crush through Congress at the coming session, its grab of the property. A number of Democratic senators in the South who have thus far voted against the trust are now expected to declare that the issue must be "settled out of the way" in order that more debate may be given to the flood control issue.

Why this unusual excitement against public ownership by these powerful interests at a time when the advocates of public ownership show such weakness? Why are the trusts making this a major issue, when the duped, poisoned and blinded American people have almost forgotten it?

There is just one answer. The private monopolists sense how utterly untenable is their position. They know the facts and they know the facts are against them. They know that truth and right is on the side of public ownership. They are well aware of the success of public ownership in Ontario. They know what public ownership is doing throughout the world and how the movement of the people toward the public possession of the sources of employment and wealth is steadily rising like a great tide.

In the face of this they are preparing to strike down the American people while there is yet time and make America an impregnable fortress of private monopoly. Will the American people never wake up?

4,500,000 Jobless Wholly Or In Part, Labor Leader Says

LOS ANGELES. There are more than 1,000,000 unemployed in this country and 3,500,000 wage earners are working part time, said John P. Frey, secretary-treasurer, Metal Trades Department, at the A. F. of L. convention, in discussing labor's wage declaration that wages must keep pace with production.

The coal, textile, garment and glass industries are especially hit by unemployment, the speaker said. Such a condition, he declared, reflects on those who manage industry and who boast of our prosperity.

Wages are high only among well organized workers, said Mr. Frey. He quoted a recent statement by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics that more than 200,000 railroad common laborers averaged \$17 a week in 1926; that the average wage in lumber camps was less, and that wages of textile workers was abnormally low.

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(Cont. on Page 2)

Berger Will Oppose Repaying Swindlers of Teapot Dome

Stand of Labor Vindicates Fight Against Measure by American Appeal

American labor has vindicated the attacks made by the American Appeal on the militarist resolution passed by the Illinois Federation of Labor at its recent annual convention at East St. Louis.

When this resolution was carried to the floor of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles for endorsement it met with a hot reception from the progressive elements in the convention and a cold reception from the conservatives.

Its sponsors saved the resolution from a vote, which probably would have beaten it, by accepting a resolution committee's leadership in steering it back to the federation executive council. There the pet measure of certain Chicago and Illinois labor leaders will stay for a job of rewriting and inquiry which promises to keep it buried until the 1928 convention.

President John H. Walker of the Illinois federation introduced the resolution.

"The so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and the leveling of living standards to the plane of international capitalism and panarchy," the resolution declares.

This opening paragraph stirred the ire of half a dozen woman delegates, of whom there are fifteen occupying seats on the floor. Other passages in the resolution, particularly one which declared: "Great endowment funds left by notorious oppressors and exploiters of American labor are devoted to the propagation of doctrines which undermine the national integrity of Americans and threaten the prospects for continuous betterment of the economic, educational, and other opportunities enjoyed by wage earners of the nation," were said by members of the resolutions committee to be difficult of explaining in their present form.

Max Hayes, who was Farmer-Labor candidate for Vice President in 1920, assailed the resolution.

"Who are these mysterious persons mentioned in this Illinois resolution?" Hayes queried. "I demand that some member of the Illinois delegation explain this resolution."

Hayes query was particularly directed toward parts of the resolution which declared that "international money changers" and others were aiding and abetting "by money and counsel in many attacks upon American institutions and laws which stand in the way of a general reduction of American living standards."

Other delegates said the resolution, as framed, was directed to the Illinois Federation, not to the national federation, for action. Victor Olander of Chicago said it would be agreeable to refer the measure to the federation executive council, and on motion of Matthew Woll of Chicago, chairman of the resolutions committee, this was done.

Burglar and Tools

"But if a burglar tries to break into a house and is scared by a policeman and leaves his Jimmies behind, surely he is not entitled to any payment for the tools that he loses. And neither are these oil magnates entitled to any payment."

From The Pen
Of Debs
(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Capitalist Politician

Wendell Phillips once gave a happy and illuminating description of the capitalist politician. Said he:

"A capitalist is a man who lives at Washington what he wouldn't for all the world have known at home, and whispering at home what he wouldn't for all the world have known at Washington, and who is politically dead the moment he is equally well known in both places."

The capitalist politician to succeed at the game must be a hypocrite and a scoundrel. If he goes to Congress as a republican, democrat or progressive, he is supposed to represent ALL THE PEOPLE in his district; when, as a matter of fact, this is absolutely impossible as long as there is an upper and lower class, an exploiting and exploited class in society.

If he is for the exploiters, he is against the exploited and vice versa, and as he can take sides with neither openly, he takes sides secretly with the worker, being introduced. Some of the latest machines remind one of the "Robots," or mechanical men, of a well known drama.

One of the latest is a "mechanical man" whose faculties are at both ends of a telephone connection and whose functions imitate those of human workers, according to a New York City account of the invention.

This modified automaton responds to the voice of a master as effectively as a servant to the housewife, a clerk to a broker and as mechanic to the garageman.

The machine, an electrical convenience known as the "televox," was demonstrated in New York City by R. J. Wensley, engineer for the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing company.

The device has an extremely sensitive ear, attuned to voice sound waves that must be delicately carried to a mechanical "brain."

Orders are sent through a tuning fork into the telephone to which is attached a small loud-speaker. The telephone connection is made in the usual way. When the bell rings, at the post of the automaton a ringing relay calls into action the equipment, which lifts the receiver. Amplifiers then take up the sounds that come over the wire, the different sounds thus magnified controlling different wires, and the current thus transmitted throwing on or off switches as desired.

The televox is contained in a box three feet high and two feet wide and consists of a series of sound filters, amplifiers and magnetic levers. It responds only to sound transmitted by telephone, and only to sounds pitched in certain keys.

In the demonstration, at the first sound sent over the televox the automatic slave lit a series of lights; at the second, it turned on an electric fan; at the third, it switched on a searchlight.

Three of the machines are in active use by the war department, stationed at the three reservoirs that supply water to Washington, D. C. There they watch over water levels, performing perfectly on a twenty-four-hour day basis the duties the same number of human workmen would be called upon to do in eight hours.

As the executive council points out, there must be a new basis of appeal in the mass production industries on the part of organized labor.

What Shall We Do About It?

What can any sane and civilized nation possessing an ounce of reason do in the face of such a situation but publicly own and use the machines to provide every producer with work and wealth? What else is there to do in the face of the new tremendous possibilities of science and invention? Try to think up some other solution if you can. The American Appeal will gladly publish it.

DEADLY PARALLEL—MACHINE AND N. Y. Socialists MAN UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM Confident They Will

Takes the Jobs of the Owners

So tremendous has been the advance in the productivity of American workers that, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has been conducting a series of investigations in this field for the major industries of the country, the total output of 1925 could be produced with not far from one-half the number of workers which would have been required under conditions existing in 1899.

"The combined output of agricultural, mineral and manufactured commodities and of railroad transportation increased nearly two and one-half times between 1899 and 1925."

In respect to railroad transportation, it is shown that while 1,245,000 workers produced \$4,721,000,000 in revenue in 1919, 1,743,000 turned out \$5,602,000,000 in 1925. In other words, while the carriers had 171,000 less workers, their receipts went up \$881,000,000.

Automatic machines that completely displace the workers and require only a small fraction for "upkeep" of what the living workers require, thus enabling the owner to get practically the full product and do away with the worker, are being introduced. Some of the latest machines remind one of the "Robots," or mechanical men, of a well known drama.

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Nonpartisanism

Is Challenged at A. F. of L. Meet

you want that humiliation to be repeated next year when the old guard controlled by the bosses meet again?"

Curb on Bosses

He sketched the chastening effects a third party has on the political bosses and urged the calling of a conference next spring by the executive council to which all labor, farmer and liberal organizations should be invited, which would take an independent stand and show the bosses they don't own the workers.

"The bosses won't give you justice in Congress or in the courts because their class interests are different from yours," Hayes patiently explained. "You won't win right away but you will in time and meanwhile you will force concessions from the boss parties."

He sketched the rise of the English and Australian labor parties to power and predicted that in 10 or 12 years they would control their national governments. "At that time we will still be on our knees before our masters begging favors," was his final shot.

No Reversal Asked

President Green in reply maintained, a bit more patriotically than statistically perhaps, that we had as good social legislation as any in the world and that "we will get what we want in our own way."

OUR PURPOSE
Is to teach Socialism
and organize the
people politically
and industrially to
bring Socialism.

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

Price Five Cents.</p

Socialist Party News

Assessment Stamps

The Voluntary Assessment Stamps have been sent to all State and District Secretaries of the Party and they are in turn sending them to the locals and branches under their jurisdiction. Our comrades are expected to push these with a vengeance not only among their own members but to friends of the movement. We feel that the 16 days from October 20 to November 5 will be an excellent time to get good results. However, it is not necessary to close the sale of these stamps on November 5 unless the field has been properly covered and comrades have all been given an opportunity to purchase one. We do, however, hope that the matter will be kept ever before the membership and an early report made as practical.

Conferences

There are a number of State Conferences contemplated for the near future in such states as Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa and Texas. The National Secretary will attempt to pay a visit to these states where the comrades are ready to cooperate in making such conferences a success. They should be for the purpose of strengthening the Party and preparing for the 1928 campaign.

Memorial Meetings

A large number of memorial meetings are being held and some are still being arranged. The Comrades of Cleveland, Ohio, are arranging for a meeting on October 25, but we have not received information as to the place of meeting. Comrade W. J. Van Essen member of the National Executive Committee from Pittsburgh will be the speaker.

Pennsylvania

The Comrades of Greensburg, Pa., will hold a memorial meeting on October 25. Of course readers of the American Appeal will take part to help make it a fine success. The Comrades to Greensburg also report that they have filed their candidates and petitions for the November election and they fully expect every Socialist to do his duty between this and election day.

California

Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis, State Secretary, gives us to understand that prospects are good for an active campaign for 1928 in California and points out that there was an unusual strengthening of the Party shown in registration as Socialists in California. We do not doubt but that every reader of the American Appeal will be "Johnny on the spot" in complete cooperation with the State Secretary of California.

The Socialists of San Francisco and others will hold a big memorial meeting in Native Son Lodge on October 30. Speakers announced for this meeting are John D. Barry, George D. Brewer, Lena M. Lewis, Cameron H. King, and Harriet Wilson who is Director of the International Institute of Music. Ethel Cott will furnish music. There will also be recitations and other features on the program.

New England District

Debs Memorial meetings are being arranged in a number of places. Norwood meeting will be held on Sunday, October 23, Lawrence Sunday October 30, and Quincy Saturday October 22. The Quincy Yipsels are planning tableaux incidents in Debs' life.

Boston

Comrade Joe Bearak is making a strong run in Dorchester, Ward 14, for City Council. His two headquarters are kept busy and every voter in the ward will be circularized. Plans are also under way to canvass the voters.

Yipsels

Boston Yipsels have started a study in Labor Economics, meeting Sundays at 3:30 at 21 Essex Street.

The lectures so far arranged are as follows:—(1) Capitalist Method of Production. (2) Prices and How They are Determined. (3) Labor's Relation to Production. (4) Dividing up the Product of Exploration. (5) Money, Banking and Investment. (6) Foreign Trade and Imperialism. (7) Crises and Unemployment.

The classes are open to the public and are especially interesting because they are run by the discussion method. The first class was held Sunday, October 16th.

New York

The Socialist Party upstate has made the following nominations for Justices of Supreme Court: 5th Judicial District, Sylvester Butler of Clinton, Oneida County; 8th Judicial District, Rudolph Rexin of Buffalo, Erie County. John W. Hein, a union railroad man of East Syracuse, Onondaga County, is the choice of the Party for

Representative in Congress to fill the vacancy existing in the 35th Congressional District.

John L. Meyers, former Socialist City Comptroller of Schenectady and the candidate of his party for the same office this fall, has been endorsed by the City Employees Union to oppose the present Comptroller, Mrs. A. Pecherer and Master Macherer. Then there were a number of \$1.00 contributions among whom were Hauberg, Elliott, De Jung, Henry, Moltzer, Neidlin and others. The \$1.00 contributions came in rapidly and the comrade copying the names failed to get some of them. However, the audience contributed a total of \$427.00.

Mass Meeting

On Sunday afternoon a well attended Mass Meeting was held at McAllister Hall where old time enthusiasm was displayed by the audience when Comrade Hilfert, James Victor Berger, Win. Henry and Van Essen made speeches on the work of Eugene V. Debs and on the prospects of a great Socialist movement in the United States. At this meeting there was a large collection taken from the audience which was composed partly by the banquetters of the night before, but the contribution reached the sum of \$12,259. The big audience that filled every seat and many standing stayed until the speakers were through and every one, especially the National Executive Committee had nothing but high praise for the fine spirit and cooperation furnished by the Detroit comrades.

Child and Women Slaves in American Canneries

WASHINGTON—Women and child workers toiling under unbelievably bad conditions, long hours and dangerous insanitation make up a very great proportion of the workers in the cannery camps of Delaware, according to a recent report of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Because there are not enough women and children in the country adjacent to the canneries, migrant workers—Poles, Italians, native whites and negroes—are drawn from Philadelphia, Baltimore and the Eastern shore. In many cases the husband and older children remain in the cities and the women and younger children are drawn into the cannery camps. Regarding these children the report says:

"Children old enough to peel tomatoes or to help around the cannery frequently find employment with the mother. The fact that practically one person in five of the migrant group was under 8 years of age suggests the need of a caretaker, to be responsible for the little tots while the mothers are at work, a provision noted at two of the camps visited."

British Labor's Third Weapon

The great trade union movement and the labor Party of Great Britain are not the only organized assets of the British working class. The co-operative movement is owned and controlled by the same people and may prove to be as important as the others in the transition from capitalism to the Cooperative Commonwealth in the island kingdom. The following facts, from The London Daily Herald, reveal only one side of the British co-operative movement—the Wholesale Society:

"A record of splendid progress is contained in the report of the Co-operative Wholesale Society for the year ended July 9.

"Features of the report are—An increase in sales of £5,791,314, or 12.5 per cent.

"An increase in average weekly sales of £105,784.

"An increase of approximately £10,000,000 in deposits and withdrawals at the C. W. S. bank.

"An increase of 11.7 per cent. in the sales to retail Co-operative societies.

"These increases are by comparison with the corresponding period of 1926. Although that half-yearly period covered 26 weeks, as against 25 weeks covered by the present report, the rise in the average weekly sales indicates a general growth of business. The average of weekly sales totalled £1,552,172, as compared with £1,316,101.

"The value of goods supplied from factories of the C.W.S. to retail Co-operative societies was £14,373,059.

"The weekly average value of the sales of these C.W.S. productions was £516,925.

"After providing for all expenses of production and distribution, interest on capital and depreciation of property, there is a surplus of £622,468. Out of this £488,729 is to be paid to society members, this being at the rate of 3d. in the £ on purchases from the Wholesale Society.

"Out of the remainder the directors propose to devote £10,000 for the provision of recreation grounds for the

employees.

Mayor Duvall, a Ku Klux Klan

graftor, who was convicted of the crime of selling public offices for cash, is still at large and holding office.

Sacco and Vanzetti, who opposed the rottenness of the existing system are dead. This is a good example of reward and punishment under capitalism.

The greatest service you can render and the best way to honor Debs' memory during Memorial Weeks is to send in one or more subs. Let's all do something. Any one sending in \$5 worth or more will get WALLS AND BARS free. Use this blank right away.

AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS

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Recaller

National Convention To Be In New York

(Continued from Page 1)

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Hankin and Reznik. There were

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A Great Week

Events of vast importance in the wide-slung struggle between the workers and their exploiters characterized the week just passed. In Great Britain the Labor Party concluded an eventful annual session. In Mexico the reactionary counter-revolution against the peasant-worker power in Mexico was crushed. In Germany a strike began of 140,000 coal miners and textile workers against wages and conditions that are impossible and are the fruits of the falsely celebrated Dawes plan which loads a burden on the German workers that cannot much longer be borne and may force tremendous changes in Germany.

In the United States were two major developments connected with the struggle. The A. F. of L. completed the work of its annual convention without having changed its policies or leadership, given ground for hope of an early change. The other development was the tightening and strengthening of the battle lines of the super-power trust preparatory to supreme struggle in the next congress which may determine definitely whether or not the American people are to become the helpless political and industrial victims of this monster.

The crowding of such great events and others into a week illustrates the titanic character of the struggle today. Not a year passes but what this world-wide struggle between the workers and owners becomes more vast and significant. Clearly it is leading rapidly to a supreme test between the workers and the ruling class—the forces of democracy and militarism. In the headlines of the daily capitalist papers is the greatest text and argument every written for Socialism, if the people could only read.

A. F. of L. Convention

The convention of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles, just closed, was in some ways encouraging and in many ways disappo-

ting. The convention adhered to its old policy of political "nonpartizanism," or reward "your friends and punish your enemies." This stand becomes more surprising each year in view of the increasing development of the political independence of labor over the whole world. Nothing can account for it except that American labor leaders are completely submerged in the capitalist parties. This year, however, they did not get away with it without a struggle. Max Hayes' able attack on this policy and his brilliant defense of independent political action deserves highest praise. If the real progressives in the labor movement would display a little more of the same kind of courage and honesty, there would be more hope of bringing about a change.

In its efforts to collaborate with the government—probably the most capitalistic government in the world—the A. F. of L. developed grave inconsistencies. It refused to condemn American imperialism on the ground that facts do not justify such a charge against the government. This is most absurd. If this government is not imperialistic, what is it doing in Nicaragua, Haiti, San Domingo? Why the American protectorate over Cuba? What about our broken promise to grant independence to the Philippines? Surely this is one of the most ghastly and disgraceful acts of imperialism in modern times.

The A. F. of L. leaders had a great deal to say about the new friendship and cooperation between capital and labor in America, and drew from honest Andrew Furuseth a scathing and unanswerable rebuke. If this cooperation is so good, why not dissolve the trade unions and join the company unions, where the cooperation is perfect?

Let it be said to the credit of this convention that it passed a resolution against the conscription of labor in time of war, but on the other hand, it did not take a decisive stand against the intensely militaristic, reactionary and nationalistic resolution presented by the Illinois Federation of Labor. It passed this resolution to the Executive board. On the other hand, the convention passed a resolution condemning the ignorant and fanatical attempts to prevent the study of evolution in the schools. The masking of the labor forces against the rising tide of bigotry and ignorance in the United States is encouraging.

One of the most notable acts of this convention was endorsement of a plan to base the future wage demands of labor on labor's increasing productivity. If labor wins and maintains that stand its position will become much more militant and progressive than at present. There will not be a great deal of kindly "friendship and cooperation" on the part of the big employers toward labor, but labor will progress toward real independence and power, if it fights out this issue consistently.

British Labor Party

What did the British Labor Party do at its recent convention at Blackpool, England? The American Federation of Labor papers and American capitalist papers tell us that it turned from Socialism toward liberalism—that it became more of a liberal party and less of a Socialist party.

We have before us the full reports on that convention in the London Daily Herald, official organ of the Labor Party. These reports show that these capitalist statements have no foundation in fact.

The thing that actually happened, indeed, has especial Socialist significance. The Blackpool Labor Party convention was in reality a practical preparation of the labor forces of Great Britain to take power and begin the inauguration of Socialism immediately. It is the first labor conference in England that was devoted specifically to the adoption of a practical program for immediately winning and using power.

When Ramsay MacDonald announced the necessity of presenting the British nation with a practical and immediate program calculated to win the majority in the next election, some of the more left elements were temporarily alarmed. McDonald assured the conference:

"That Socialism, which was the background of all their policies, would guide them in selecting the items of their election program." This idea immediately won the support of the most radical Socialists. The program adopted won the overwhelming support of the 1,200 delegates, a very large proportion of whom were members of the Independent Labor Party, a purely Socialist organization. Among the election planks adopted were the following:

Immediate nationalization of the mines.

Establishment by the government of a living wage.

Obligation of the government to see that all willing workers have employment.

Re-establishment by law of the 7-hour day taken by law from the miners.

Educational and poor law reform in the interest of the workers and common people.

A progressive sur-tax on all incomes above \$2,500, the revenues from the tax to be used in furnishing employment, educating and improving the lot of the masses of the people.

Practically all of these platform demands are revolutionary in character. The nationalization of coal is basic, because the coal industry is the first to fail completely under capitalism and this starts the socialization process at the beginning.

The establishment of a living wage will compel fundamental modification of capitalism, yet Great Britain has reached a point where this must be done—where this issue cannot any longer be dodged, and where the argument for it is invincible.

British Labor has adopted a program which will appeal to the majority of the voters, and which when carried out will lay the whole foundation of Socialism; and some American "laborites" are chiming in the capitalist chorus that it is "liberalism."

The Mexican Revolt

A very important sector of the battles of labor were imported for one week by the sudden and widespread mutiny in the Mexican army. The outcome against odds that never will be wholly known illustrates the stability and loyalty behind a government close to the workers and the real democratic forces of a nation.

The most dangerous revolt is the final trump card of capitalism and the corruption of the army and the use of the military machine to overthrow the government representing the legal majority. The game has been played often lately and now constitutes one of the most dangerous methods used by the reactionaries. In Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania this resort to the military has completely wiped out democratic government and enslaved the workers, at least for the present. The plain truth is that scientific weapons of destruction have become practically omnipotent. Armies are the most easily corruptible of all the instruments of power. The reason is that the military atmosphere and psychology begets reaction. Army officers are especially prone to be savagely reactionary. Putting guns into the hands of trained human automatons makes them conscious of their bloody power—makes them crave to use their power bloody—kills progressive and humane ideas. It is even dangerous for a workers' republic to maintain a workers' army, although this seems unavoidable on account of the brutal militarism of anti-labor governments.

To the army the reactionaries go to play their trump card, and to the army went the reactionary interests in Mexico and from the United States. It is significant that they were successful in stirring up a good sized mutiny. Their work has been shown to have been careful and widespread. It was the officers, of course, who were corrupted, and their influence was depended upon to mislead the soldiers. We say that the mutiny of so many "generals" and other officers was significant, because the greatest care has been exercised by the Calles regime to weed out reactionary elements and place the army on a footing of unwavering loyalty to the semi-labor government.

Facts disclosed in various documents in Mexico, in the conduct of the Washington administration, in facts admitted in the American press for years, show who were back of this process of corruption of the Mexican army. American oil and other interests have been instigating trouble and revolution in Mexico for years. President Wilson pointed out this fact in his day. The American Knights of Columbus a year ago adopted a plan to raise a million dollars to fight the Calles regime. American capitalists and American Catholics were in league with the reactionary and Catholic elements of Mexico to play this final card of army mutiny. The uprising of Gómez was predicted by John Corry, an American newspaper correspondent, in the Chicago Tribune at least six months ago.

The American capitalist press showed what it knew about the "inside" of the revolt and where it stood, in many ways. Scarcely had the mutiny revealed itself when the Tribune pointed to this development as proof positive that Mexico is incurably unstable and a menace to the United States, leaving the plain inference that the American Army should "stabilize" Mexico. A Hearst paper carried a large headline stating that Calles had executed a rival for the presidency, when as a matter of fact Calles is not running, and the man executed was captured in the act of mutiny and rebellion. There is no question but that the administration in Washington would have recognized the rebels as soon as they established a base. This would have meant unlimited arms for them. The counter-revolutionaries made straight for Vera

Cruz, a seaport and center of the oil region, as if by pre-arranged plan. Had they seized Vera Cruz, there would have been no limit to the amount of the most destructive war weapons that could have been hurried to the rebels.

In the face of these dangers, the Mexican government won in a week. It demonstrated that the statements about the instability of the Mexican government are capitalist propaganda lies. This dangerous army mutiny could not have been suppressed so quickly had not Calles been backed by the overwhelming majority of the Mexican people. This lays another capitalist lie that the people of Mexico are against the present Mexican government. No sooner had the mutinous rebellion raised its head than the Mexican Federation of Labor and the agrarian organizations offered their services. As the Apolo pointed out recently, these elements represent more than half the people of Mexico and they are organized.

The quick ending of the army mutiny leaves the American and Mexican reaction only one card to play—American intervention. Mexico is cracked. It would require a bold and brazen administration now to launch a policy of intervention. The workers have won a real victory.

Is Soviet Russia Liberalizing?

Soviet Russia has signaled the opening of the present session of parliament by the abolition of capital punishment except in the most grave offenses against the present regime and by commuting the prison terms except those working to destroy the Soviet government.

This does not sound good on its face because this classification means that the crimes involving real moral and anti-social turpitude are pardoned, while disagreement with the Soviet regime is not pardoned to the same extent. However, the report sounds as though the punishment of political prisoners is to be somewhat lessened.

We sincerely hope this view is correct. Russia is in the position to do the supreme thing for humanity in leading toward a better social order.

The Soviet government has undoubtedly had considerable success in socializing industries, but it goes well beyond this to those who politically disagree with the Communists. Of course, this harshness has arisen from extreme and often exaggerated fears caused by Russia's isolated position and the endless and desperate plotting of internal enemies.

The Communists have been particularly cruel to the Socialists, despite the fact that the Socialists have repeatedly declared that they do not aim to overthrow the Soviet government, but only to democratize it. The time has come when the Soviet government can safely permit all political opposition which does not aim to overthrow its regime by force. The longer it prevents this condition, the more it will defeat the purposes of international Socialism and undermine and threaten its own existence.

Russia needs a Socialist party as well as a Communist party. When it becomes possible for a Socialist party to exist in Russia, Russia will find itself backed solidly by the forces of international Labor, and in a much safer position than it is now.

The Propaganda of The Power Trust By Norman Thomas

It was good to read of the prolonged applause that greeted Senator Johnson's speech on the Boulder Dam site; ion before the A. F. of L. convention at Los Angeles in which he vigorously denounced the propaganda of the power interests. The same paper which carried this dispatch carried a formal announcement that the National Utility Association representing \$17,500,000,000 of invested capital in public railroads is to start a nationwide "educational" campaign against government ownership.

It is hard to exaggerate the menace of this thing unless the public is on its guard. We know by experience what such campaigns backed by less powerful forces have meant. The Enterpriser investigation showed that the New York subways have persistently misappropriated their real financial standing in their fight against the five cent fare. For a long time electric power corporations have been boasting that while general living costs were rising the cost of electricity to private consumers as distinct from industrial users have fallen little if any and that all costs should have fallen many times over owing to the marvelous technical progress of the industry (which employs relatively few workers and is therefore not much affected by rising wage scales). They were not for the outrageous profits taken by the companies under various devices intended to cheat regulation.

Past experience warrants us in saying that education as understood by the National Utility Association means deliberate lying and misrepresentation. The electrical interests proved that fact by the reports they hired reputable engineers to make in attacking the Ontario development. It means a wholesale hiring of labor leaders, public speakers and women prominent in women's clubs to foment the prepared propaganda given them. Almost a quarter of a million was thus spent in California. It means that newspapers and radios will be open to the expensive propaganda of the utility companies and closed to everybody else. The Electrical World recently quoted with approval the advice of one executive to "buy white space" in as many newspapers as possible, in which case the newspapers will go slow in printing letters of attack on utility companies.

Finally, this educational campaign means the attempt to influence

schools and colleges. The Chairman of the Public Relations section of the National Electric Light Association, commenting on gifts which it had obtained for Northwestern University and Harvard, deplored Professor W. Z. Ripley's attack on some big corporations in his famous book "Main Street and Wall Street." He ended his remarkable statement by saying:

"If we can be sure that we have got hold, with reference to our industry, of the will of Jehovah perhaps we may also play the part of Jehovah in putting into the mouth of the particular Balaam, that is, college professor, whom we are asking to go forth something of the truth which we would like, which we have a right, to expect to have prophesied."

Private Monopolies Protect Their Graft

(From Labor, Washington, D. C.)

The National Utility Association, representing some \$17,500,000,000 of capital, have started a nation-wide "educational campaign" to teach the people the beauties of private monopoly and the terrible wickedness of public ownership.

Says George B. Cortelyou, president of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York and spokesman for these philanthropic interests:

"Despite the fact that the country, as a whole, has endorsed the policy of private ownership, operation and management of utilities, ardent advocates of contrary policies appear with specious plans; at would involve the government in vast expenditures, whereas every practical feature of their plans, if any, could be secured at infinitely less expense by development of existing private agencies."

This particular issue is settled. Our taxes are determined by men whom we elect to represent us. They may not do so very well on according to our true interests, but that is our fault; for we can elect others if we wished.

But from the point of view of the workers there are many more important questions than determining taxes. Determining wages, determining hours of labor, and deciding the even more important question of whether we shall be allowed to work or not, whether factors should operate full time or part time, or lay off or not, or take them on or replace men by women and children; all these are more important than any question of taxation. Yet none of these questions

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialism and Americanism

The Slogans of the American Revolution

In IV Articles

Article I.

Alfred Baker Lewis
(Secretary, New England District,
Socialist Party)

of vital importance to the workers are determined by the representatives of the workers at all. They are determined by the representatives of the owners of industry, not the workers. Many of the owners are absentees, too, i.e., they do not work in the industry in which they are owners, nor even live in the same community. Yet they, through their representatives, the Board of Directors, control the wages, the hours, and the jobs of the workers. Since not the workers but the owners elect the Boards of Directors who choose the officers and manage the great corporations of the country, this means that the workers of America have their wages determined without representation, their hours of labor determined without representation, and the very question of whether they will have a chance to work at all, determined without representation.

If determining taxes without representation was enough to cause the men who founded America to start a revolt against the British Government, surely when the owners of industry, the British Parliament claimed the right to tax the American colonists without allowing them representation in the British Parliament, or giving them a say in determining how large the taxes should be or how they should be spent, Americans thus had their taxes determined by people whom they did not elect and over whom they had no control, and against whom they were in a situation the colonists started a revolt.

If a citizen of Massachusetts works at the General Electric Company plants in Lynn or Pittsfield, he has his wages and his chance to get a job fixed by superintendents, whom he does not elect or have any control over at all, but who are appointed by a Board of Directors elected mostly from citizens of New York state, since most of the General Electric stock is owned in New York. If a man works in Maynard, Mass., his means of livelihood is at the mercy of the American Woolen Company and that company has scarcely a dozen stockholders in Maynard. The wages and the chance to work of most of Maynard's population is determined without the representatives of the workers of Maynard having any say in the matter at all. In Cambridge where I live, the largest factory is

Imperial dynasty: of pushing the House of Savoy, in due course, quietly off its throne, as the Mayor of the Palace in old France pushed off the decadent Bourbon Emperor.

The child's names suggest it. They are to be both Imperial and Roman—Giulio Romano, not, you may be sure, in compliment to a second-rate 16th-century painter, but after the greatest of the Caesars and the Eternal City.

Only, it is said, the lack of a law-hair has so far caused the Duke to delay the long-promised "Imperial Year of Fascism." The heir is born. There is no longer any obstacle to the fulfillment of the megalomaniac ambition which haunts the Febreze and neuritic egotism of the Facist chief.

Reasons for War

Ernest Untermann

(In The Milwaukee Leader)

We learn from Washington news items that the war department has made about 11,000 contracts with American firms under the industrial mobilization plan.

These contracts are to go into effect immediately at the first order of mobilization for war.

There are 11,000 reasons why war should be welcome to these firms.

War contracts are more profitable than peace work. We are on the descending arc of the industrial cycle. As business slumps, the firms with these potential war contracts will have urgent interests in favoring a war.

What good is a contract that is only an unsigned check? If the way to get it signed and cashed is to start something, the war department has given to the big business firms a hint to go after trouble, whenever war seems more profitable than peace.

Madame Rosika Schwimmer was denied citizenship because she testified that she would not kill a human being under any circumstances. Had she been a liar testifying to anything that pleased the judge, or had she been a murderer at heart testifying that she loved and upheld the institution of war, she would have been made a citizen. Christ could not be a citizen of the United States today.

According to the Supreme Court, Fall, Sinclair and Doheny illegally stole the Teapot Dome lease. Nobody sees either one of them offering for this act of theft and treason. Had they been some obscure soap bakers of Rome, that much advertised child is a Crown Prince designate, instead of powerful magnates, they would now be testing in jail.

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What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

**Public Ownership—Courts
World Organization**

John M. Work

(Associate Editor, Milwaukee Leader)
If I were confined to three planks they would be substantially as follows:

1. Public ownership of trusts, banks, railroads, coal, oil, insurance, and electric power.

2. Curbing of the powers of the courts.

3. Establishment or development of a genuine world organization to prevent war and coordinate the affairs of the world.

**Water Power and
Flood Control**

Seymour Stedman

(Chicago Attorney; Socialist Vice-Presidential Candidate, 1916)

At the time I entered the Socialist party, it was decidedly utopian in character. It was asectic, bigoted and narrow as any ecclesiastical group of which I have ever heard. The fusion of the Social Democratic party with the Socialist Labor Party to some extent improved conditions, but it was a long continuous fight. The Socialist party, as a political factor, has developed in Milwaukee, in New York to some extent, but there it was largely a Jewish movement. In Chicago our progress was exceedingly slow. Just prior to the war we had elected four members to the legislature, and four or five to the city council. When the war came on the lunatics in the party developed sufficient strength, assisted by the government persecution, to give us a tremendous setback.

The campaign at the time I was candidate for Vice-President was politically and educationally a failure. It may sound harsh to your ears, but while the nationalization of railroads was a part of our constructive program, and it appealed more to the west than the east, we made a mistake in over-emphasizing Comrade Debs as an issue in the campaign. Our party has been too much of a protest party, and not sufficiently constructive. As an educational movement it was grand. As a political party it has been a colossal failure.

I believe at this time our accentuated program should be the socialization of water power and flood control.

3. Establishment or development of a genuine world organization to prevent war and coordinate the affairs of the world.

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There's no use telling voters they're hungry when most of them are not, or telling them how to get more Fords, movies and radios when you wish they'd throw away the ones they have. I can't at the moment phrase any'advocates more concrete than these:

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Progressive gradual reduction of premiums on ownership, with a pious hope that it will level barriers opposed if not open ways which lead to self-respecting, responsible creative industry.

I can think of a number of pretty good horses and carts. But the point is somehow to get them headed towards a desirable destination before you invite the people to climb aboard for a ride.

**Power of Constructive
Imagination Needed**

Helen Phelps Stokes

I have been turning over in my mind the matter of planks for a third party platform, and I had about

decided upon two or three when one of your articles in the New Leader set me to thinking the matter through more thoroughly.

I realize of course that those who hold the power are liable, shall I say, bound, to use it to promote the ends they have in view by exercising such control as they can over all the agencies of government. It is therefore of primary importance for those who desire a change in things as they are,

that they set about the acquisition of foreign lands."

The need of acquiring power in the economic field and in the political field through organization is pretty clearly understood by those interested in the 3rd party movement, but the need of developing for social uses the power of the constructive imagination and harnessing it to the tastes of society, reconstruction which lie ahead of us, seems to have been largely lost sight of.

Yet without it the acquisition of political and economic power is bound to be disappointing in its results when not actually sterile. Those who are coming into control must have a vision of the kind of world they want to create, and of the means and measures necessary to bring it into being. "Immediate demands" then have their chief use in making people see a new and better way of doing things, in making them visualize a more decent, humane, and intelligent kind of social living.

This being so, such immediate demands as those for nationalization of the coal industry, or of super power, for municipal housing, or of control of foreign relations by Congress rather than by the Executive, while leaving power still in the hands of those who at present control government, yet tend to stimulate powerfully the constructive imagination, and to bring to bear the practical mind on ways and means of producing the results desired.

In other words, should we not choose our "immediate demands" for their educational value? If so some of the things most difficult of achievement become the most important for our purpose.

For instance:

"The enactment of legislation to prevent the use of the armed forces of the nation in the protection of the persons and property of Americans

are now suffering from an excessive farm plant productive capacity and world-wide competition. Our present tariff policy is reducing the foreign markets for farm products with no commensurate advantage to farmers in this country. The Federal Government should abandon its present policy of fostering manufactures at the expense of agriculture and assume some of the indebtedness incurred by farmers in increasing their plants to meet wartime demands for farm products. It should also work out a policy to readjust the manpower from farms to other occupations where surplus farmers can secure a reasonable return for their work.

Anti-Imperialist Program

3. America, in a few years, has changed from a debtor to a creditor nation largely as a result of the World War and development since that time. It is inevitable that there should be some surplus capital for export. Our enlarged manufacturing interests demand access to raw materials needed in such industries wherever located. Hitherto our foreign policy has been dictated by selfish and speculative financial interest determined to exploit instead of to cooperate with most of the nations where this capital has been invested, particularly the natural resources and other raw material. An international allocation of natural resources and raw materials and an investigation of concessions Americans hold abroad, which should be a matter of public record, are necessary to remove present dangerous causes of and incentives to warfare. Our tariff policy is a potent breeder of wars and should be changed particularly if we maintain our present program of compelling nations, with which our government has made loans, to repay them.

**Public Ownership of Railroads
and Natural Resources**

2. Owner-ship of means of transportation by private capital has resulted in discrimination and is, at best, costly and wasteful. While freight rates on farm products should be reduced, adequate reduction cannot be effected where it is most needed because many of the western carriers derive the major part of their gross revenue from carrying farm products. This situation can be remedied and equal transportation facilities without discrimination ensured only through unified operation of all the transportation lines of the country. This cannot be entrusted to any private agency. It is preeminently a government function.

Natural resources, such as coal, ores and water power, have been not only profited in but inefficiently and wastefully developed and operated. The coal industry is in a chaotic condition. Ownership of natural resources such as coal and iron ore gives a great corporation such as the United States Steel Corporation, an unfair advantage over competitors. These basic natural resources, includ-

ing water power, should be owned, developed and operated by the Federal Government for service in the interest of private profit.

**Farm Relief—Imperialism
Public Ownership**

Benjamin C. Marsh

(Executive Secretary, People's Reconstruction League)

The three issues which I think should be most stressed in the coming campaign are:

1. A constructive farm policy.

2. Public ownership and control of transportation and natural resources.

3. Making our foreign policy cooperative instead of exploitive.

For state campaigns, I think that it is time to stress the land problem.

We would suggest the following approximate wording of the planks:

Agriculture

1. America has become an industrialized nation with large amounts of surplus capital for export. This

inevitably creates a demand for cheap raw material for food and clothing as well as for manufactures. The farmers of the nation have been encouraged to increase their plant and

be founded on the common ownership of the earth. Then, let's fight for the possession of the earth in every way we can.

The beauty about the plan here described is that it can begin at any time in the simplest way and build daily until the people understand us and the municipalities will be forced to take up the work.

Who will organize a Profit Control League?

**Taxing Robbers No
Cure for Robbery**

H. J. Williams

(Mt. Hope, Kansas)

The last letters on the money system are hard to beat, but not the end of all knowledge. Just as the same basis of robbery is the recognized right of either private or public interests to exact profit in the exchange of any commodity. As profit increases first it is the base and should be considered first in dealing with the consuming end. Organize that and you can easily market your products through it. When the city workers demands Dairy milk and farmer flour, the farmer will be glad to demand urban make shirts and overalls.

If they did this they could build up a fighting organization like the labor unions and if the labor unions also applied the principle of collective bargaining to their living as consumers. Then the farmer and the city worker, at last, has common ground to stand on. The crying need in this country today is a common interest. This can only be found at the consuming end. Organize that and you can easily market your products through it. When the city workers demands Dairy milk and farmer flour, the farmer will be glad to demand urban make shirts and overalls.

Most radicals shout about the waste of modern business, but forget that practically all of this waste comes from the leading preachers of the country, and in spite of all this warning many of you are slipping from under our protecting wing and going in the way of the wicked Bolsheviks who try to make you believe that the common people are capable of saying how our government should run.

You ought to be able to see what a dangerous thing it would be to let the farmers and other working men of the country secure the reins of government. What would become of the many billions of dollars that have accumulated from war profits if Morgan and his satellites were to lose the government power? How would it look for a farmer with the smell of the barnyard on his boots to sit in congress along side of the lawyers who protect the great financial interests? What would become of our sacred supreme court if we had working men in congress that would tell them that the laws of the country are made by the men elected by the people, and not by the nine men who secure their positions by appointment and are in no way under obligation to the people?

You wicked farmers! Why don't you stay at home and stop your hogs as you were advised by some politicians speaking in North Dakota? and not be trying to manage the affairs of government of which you know nothing. Your place is on the farm raising corn and wheat, hogs and cattle. It is our business to manage the affairs of government and control the market.

**Group Ownership
Urged As Starter**

H. G. Winniford

(Dallas, Texas)

Believing that group ownership without political action, if discreetly applied, would be entirely practical and that it is the natural forerunner of public ownership through political action, I want to make a plea for its consideration.

The churches and other organizations have long since proved the practicability of group ownership of real estate, that is, land and buildings. We don't need any more church property, but we do not own the store buildings we enter to buy our goods. Not that we would undertake to run a business, because that would mean failure. Nor would we rent them out, because we are opposed to rents. We need the group ownership of our store buildings because of the power it would give us over the merchant we buy our goods from.

With the building ours we could so completely regulate the profits as to leave little use of our owning the building at all. We would allow the merchant to house to do business as possibly with living rooms attached. These without rent and the American could not be seduced into a potent revolutionary force that he would be dragged along a deadweight to the movement. They differ from them in that I believe that only an agrarian revolt has any chance to succeed in this country. If you don't believe Carter's yarn in his Reading in Agricultural Economics (an Ag College text-book), the Grange and the Populist movements are good examples of what may be done with the farmer.

Personally, I believe that the farmers should and could be organized in unions if they applied the principle of collective bargaining and kept their hands off the intricate field of retail-

politics at its best is human mechanics—"social engineering" has even been adopted by good minds as a name for its ideal.

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For instance:

"The enactment of legislation to prevent the use of the armed forces of the nation in the protection of the persons and property of Americans

is to manage the difficult questions of state and nation. Besides doing the hard and dirty work of the country the only time we need you is on election day. Then it is your duty to vote your ticket straight so that our present law and order are not overthrown.

You should pray without ceasing, but do not think. If you should think before first having heard the views of the leading preachers of the country, and in spite of all this warning many of you are slipping from under our protecting wing and going in the way of the wicked Bolsheviks who try to make you believe that the common people are capable of saying how our government should run.

You ought to be able to see what a dangerous thing it would be to let the farmers and other working men of the country secure the reins of government. What would become of the many billions of dollars that have accumulated from war profits if Morgan and his satellites were to lose the government power? How would it look for a farmer with the smell of the barnyard on his boots to sit in congress along side of the lawyers who protect the great financial interests? What would become of our sacred supreme court if we had working men in congress that would tell them that the laws of the country are made by the men elected by the people, and not by the nine men who secure their positions by appointment and are in no way under obligation to the people?

You wicked farmers! Why don't you stay at home and stop your hogs as you were advised by some politicians speaking in North Dakota? and not be trying to manage the affairs of government of which you know nothing. Your place is on the farm raising corn and wheat, hogs and cattle. It is our business to manage the affairs of government and control the market.

**Farmer Unions As
Basis of Farmer
And Labor Unity**

C. V. Hill

(Rich Mountain, Arkansas)

I found the labor skates about N. Y. very hard about the agricultural side of the labor movement. Most of them were of the opinion that food

comes like rain, that the American could not be seduced into a potent revolutionary force that he would be dragged along a deadweight to the movement. They differ from them in that I believe that only an agrarian revolt has any chance to succeed in this country. If you don't believe Carter's yarn in his Reading in Agricultural Economics (an Ag College text-book), the Grange and the Populist movements are good examples of what may be done with the farmer.

Personally, I believe that the farmers should and could be organized in unions if they applied the principle of collective bargaining and kept their hands off the intricate field of retail-

politics at its best is human mechanics—"social engineering" has even been adopted by good minds as a name for its ideal.

There's no use telling voters they're hungry when most of them are not, or telling them how to get more Fords, movies and radios when you wish they'd throw away the ones they have. I can't at the moment phrase any'advocates more concrete than these:

Job for work, which ought to be one of the most interesting and important of human occupations.

Control of them (provided you have adequate deterrence from irresponsible use of it) for mankind.

Progressive gradual reduction of premiums on ownership, with a pious hope that it will level barriers opposed if not open ways which lead to self-respecting, responsible creative industry.

I can think of a number of pretty good horses and carts. But the point is somehow to get them headed towards a desirable destination before you invite the people to climb aboard for a ride.